4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Ngurusilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to [548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during 935 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaŋkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know." 622

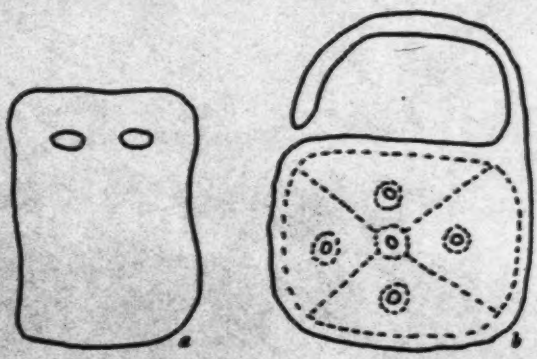

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Fraunhäusl of Panguipulli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Arancano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ñillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 657 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 628 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 726 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 648 726 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *küllatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 836 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 [692] the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [692] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of 839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this 836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup-

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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764 775 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living [776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap- [754] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 628 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes- [754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_8, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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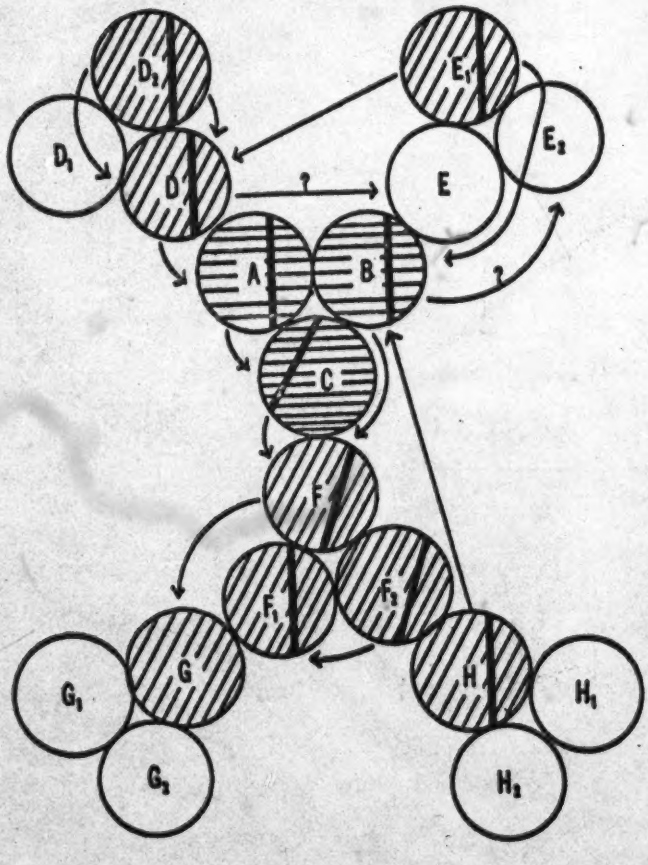
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

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celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of [623] elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and noncoincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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182 793 554 62 622 [114] difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to [628] [769] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the [613] *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of [754] situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

182 554 62 622 793 794 The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.

571 796 182 181 The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general